8135. g. 21.

TWO PAIR

OF

PORTRAITS,

PRESENTED TO ALL THE

UNBIASSED ELECTORS OF GREAT-BRITAIN;

AND ESPECIALLY TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

BY JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

AN ELECTOR OF WESTMINSTER.

Diſce, puer, virtutem *ex his* verumque laborem:
Fortunam *ex illis*.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, NO. 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND J. STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

Shilches (10)

By self	44	44		44
By Stockdale	17	17		17
By Johnson	11	11		11
	72	72		72
Bound (Rem 34)				
By self (6)	22 23	37		38
(5)	9 4	10 6		11 0

TWO PAIR OF PORTRAITS.

FIRST PAIR OF PORTRAITS.

WILLIAM PITT, Lord Chatham, } of diametrically oppoſite
HENRY Fox, Lord Holland, } *principles* and *practices*.

Both began *Commoners*.—Both finiſhed *Peers*.

CHATHAM.

HIS youth remarkably ſober, prudent, moral and œconomical.

MARRIED the ſiſter of Earl Temple, to the ſatisfaction and with the approbation of all her connections.

HOLLAND.

HIS youth jovial, imprudent, diſſipated and prodigal.

STOLE away the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, to the extreme regret and with the laſting indignation of her family.

CHATHAM.	HOLLAND.
PAYMASTER of the forces, refuſing all perquiſites, and *retiring voluntarily*, no richer than he entered.	PAYMASTER of the forces, making every poſſible emolument, and *reluctantly removed*, immenſely rich.
IN the ſettlement of his accounts, neither delay, nor diſtruſt, nor diſpute, nor arrear.	HIS accounts not to this moment ſettled: Above *fifty thouſand* pounds being ſtill due from him to the Public. Exchequer proceſs againſt him for millions during his life: and after his death, an immenſe fraud for thouſands detected in his agent, creature and executor, which detection cauſed the ſelf-ſlaughter of the executor.
AT a period of national deſpondency, diſaſter, and diſgrace, he undertook and conducted a glorious war; and reſcued his country from ſhame and defeat.	WITH the plenitude of miniſterial power and the ſtrongeſt party-connexions, he undertook and miſmanaged a war of words and votes in a corrupt houſe of commons, packed by himſelf, and miſcarried.
ACQUIRED, for his country the moſt brilliant victories, extenſive territories, and never-fading national glory; at the expence of our enemies.	AMASSED, for his own family, exorbitant wealth and property; from the burthens and oppreſſions of his countrymen.
PAID no debts for his children: for they contracted none.	PAID debts of a hundred thouſand pounds for two

of

CHATHAM.	HOLLAND.
	of his boys; contracted (at leaſt without praiſe) before they were men.
DIED poor, leaving only his fame to his widow and children.	DIED immenſely rich, with large eſtabliſhments and reverſions for every branch of his family.
DIED univerſally admired and lamented; and by an unanimous addreſs of both houſes of parliament, he had a public funeral and monument.	DIED univerſally neglected and execrated; and if his heirs have raiſed him a tomb ſtone, it may likewiſe be ſaid to be at the public expence, but involuntary.
His hiſtory *muſt* be found in that of his country.	As his hiſtory does not make a neceſſary or brilliant part of that of his country, it is to be hoped it will never be found there: and his friends will aſſuredly take care that his epitaph ſhall be very ſhort and very general.

SECOND PAIR OF PORTRAITS.

N.B. Theſe two, though not *whole lengths*, and left for ſome younger hand hereafter to finiſh, have yet (each of them reſpectively) a ſtrong family likeneſs to the former pair.

WILLIAM PITT, ſecond ſon of Lord Chatham,
CHARLES JAMES FOX, ſecond ſon of Lord Holland,
} of diametrically oppoſite *principles* and *practices*.

Both Commoners. Both preſumptive heirs to a peerage.

Both following the leſſons and examples of their reſpective progenitors;

Virtutem *ex hoc* verumque laborem:
Fortunam *ex illo*.

FOX.

ENTERED early on the turf, at gaming clubs, &c.

PITT.

PURSUING early the painful ſtudy of the laws and conſtitution of his country.

FOX.	PITT.
INTRODUCED whilſt a boy under age into parliament, and ſpeedily (though poſſeſſing a good fortune) to the lucrative office of a lord of the admiralty; in combination and confederacy with Lord North, and thoſe men who perſecuted and finally threw away America, and who by their deſpotic principles, unconſtitutional conduct, and corrupt profuſion, are the cauſe of all our paſt diſgrace and preſent aggravated burthens.	PURSUING his laborious profeſſion at the bar, and (though without fortune) refuſing all office from both parties in adminiſtration, though invited and courted to accept it by Mr. Fox and others.
BY daily and unintermitted attendance, for years, at clubs and taverns, by noiſe, clamour and party-violence, by intrigue, by hand-bills, by haranguing mobs, and all the low arts too often attendant upon very popular elections, he obtained, and ſtruggles hard to hold, a ſeat for Weſtminſter.	BY a choice congenial with his character, he ſolicited and obtained a quiet and honourable ſeat for the Univerſity of Cambridge; who revere and love his character, for they know it, having educated him.
HIS foes (falſely *we hope*) reproach him with the *exceſs* (in which alone is contained all reaſonable blame) of gaming, debauchery, &c.	HIS foes (falſely *we fear*) reproach him with the exceſs of ſobriety and continence.

FOX.

Were the charge true, the example of his ſucceſs would be miſchievous to the public, and his enjoyments at the expence of others: a conduct deſerving cenſure.

HIS *friends* plead his *youth*, bad example, and early bad connexions, as the only excuſe they can offer for his conduct during all the firſt years of his political life.

BY every art, intrigue and contrivance, he ſtudies to baniſh from the minds of men all public motives and public principles, in exchange for party and cabal, for political and family connexions.

HIS foes caſt in his teeth the old proverb of—"*Train up a child,*" &c. and reproach him with following, but too conſiſtently, his original principles, and

PITT.

Were the charge true, (from whatever cauſe it might ſpring) the example of his ſucceſs would be uſeful to the public, and himſelf only the loſer and ſufferer: not to be blamed but pitied.

HIS *foes* were moſt violent againſt him, when they had nothing but his *youth* to object. That ſame youth which is the only excuſe attempted for the acknowledged *bad* conduct of the one, is alone held forth *by the ſame men* as ſufficient to tarniſh the *good* conduct of the other.

WITH virtue and public principle, he dares, (as his father before him nobly declared)—"*to look the proudeſt connexions of this country in the face.*"

WHEN his foes attempt the bittereſt reproach againſt him, they endeavour to make it believed that he has quitted his original principles, and caſt behind

Fox.	Pitt.
ſticking too cloſely to the pattern and practices of his father.	behind him the example and practice of his father,
Sold to Mr. Jenkinſon * the ſinecure place of Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, worth full £. 3000 a year, (a reverſion formerly procured for him by his father, the late Lord Holland) in order to put ſome ready money into his own pocket.	Refused to apply to himſelf the ſinecure place of Clerk of the Pells in England, ~~of~~ full £. 3000 a year, with a conſiderable ſhare of patronage: but appointed Col. Barré to it, in order to ſave the nation a penſion of £. 3000 a year, formerly granted to Col. Barré with the concurrence of Mr. Fox, by an adminiſtration in which Mr. Pitt had no ſhare, and in which Mr. Fox was Secretary of State.
In connexion and in office with Lord North's adminiſtration he vehemently vociferates in the Houſe of Commons, that the people have *no voice* but only within the walls of St. Stephen's. He aſks—"Who are the "People?" And anſwers—"The "Parliament!"	Acknowledges a voice of the people diſtinct from that of parliament. And when two oppoſite factions corruptly, greedily, and infamouſly united to form a majority in parliament, in order at once to overpower both King and People, he made a conſtitutional, honourable, and *effectual* appeal to that voice without

* Mr. Fox exchanged it for a penſion of £. 1700 a year for thirty-one years; becauſe a penſion for ſo long a term certain was much more ſaleable and more valuable than a much larger ſum for an uncertain life.

the

FOX.

OUT OF OFFICE, and in coalition with the ſame Lord North, he daily harangues the mob from the Huſtings, and endeavours by the clamour of hired groundlings to drown the voice and deciſions both of people and ſenate.

THE author, contriver, companion, and (to this very day) defender of Col. Luttrell's election for the county of Middleſex. Who at that time in parliament vehemently argued and wickedly decided, and even now contends, that the votes of two hundred and ninety-ſix freeholders once given for Col. Luttrell, ſhould prevail to ſeat him in parliament as Repreſentative of Middleſex, againſt the votes of eleven hundred and forty-three undiſputed freeholders, who had at three different elections repeated their ſuffrages for Mr. Wilkes.

PITT.

the walls of the Houſe of Commons: and by the combined ſupport of King and People (combined, *as they always ſhould be*, for their mutual intereſts) he upholds undegraded the ſalutary authority of the Sovereign, and maintains inviolate the conſtitutional rights of the people.

REPROACHED by Mr. Fox, becauſe at a conteſted election for Weſtminſter, where 5998 votes appeared for Sir Cecil Wray, and 6233 for Mr. Fox, leaving only a majority of 235 upon a poll of 12231 voters, Mr. Pitt countenanced a ſcrutiny into the legality of the votes on both ſides; he being of opinion, that the injury to the real electors is the ſame, whether decided (as in the caſe of Middleſex) that an evident and undiſguiſed minority ſhall elect; or that non-electors ſhall by falſe votes be permitted to give a ſham majority, and by purpoſely protracted delay and chicane elude all detection.

WITH-

FOX.

WITHOUT any avowed, or even profeſſed public principle as his object, declares for Party; and that often changed.

THREE *times* in connection and in adminiſtration with Lord North; and *twice* in oppoſition to him. Therefore according to Mr. Fox's public declarations, Lord North has at two different times been a blunderer, a ſlabberer, and deſerving the axe; Mr. Fox conſents to be infamous if ever he is connected with him, or truſts himſelf alone in a room with him: and at three other times this ſame man is his dear and honourable friend, with whom he will ſtand and fall, intitled to the higheſt offices of the ſtate, and at leaſt to an equal ſhare of the patronage and plunder of the nation.

PITT.

WITHOUT the proſcription of any individual, as ſuch, declares for Principles; and thoſe religiouſly adhered to.

NEVER in connection with Lord North, nor partaker, like Mr. Fox, in any of the guilt of any part of his adminiſtration or principles. Yet never the accuſer of Lord North, nor ever his defender. Reprobating his conduct, it is true, but ſparing his perſon. Too claſſical and too moral to apply to *principles* the precept of "*ini-*"*micitiæ breves*," which relates only to *individuals* and their venial offences: for what fellowſhip has light at any time with darkneſs; and what enmity ſhould ever be laid down, but that which ſhould never have been taken up. And though Mr. Pitt has never declared it (any more than he has declared he will never commit a murder) yet is he incapable, we may venture to foretell, of being ever found in coali-

tion

FOX.	PITT.
	tion either with Lord North or Mr. Fox.
IN coalition with Lord North, cabals by a factious majority in parliament, to prevent the mutiny bill, and to ſtop the neceſſary ſupplies for the nation; that the diſtreſs and danger of national affairs both at home and abroad for money, credit, and defence againſt foreign enemies, might compel both King and People to admit our domeſtic enemies, Fox, North and Faction, into all the lucrative offices and governance of the ſtate.	RISQUES popularity and the loſs of office, to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, and impoſe unwelcome taxes on the people; in order to reſcue the finances and credit of the country from the diſtreſſes and (otherwiſe inevitable) ruin brought upon them by the enormous debt and arrears contracted by Lord North and Faction.
ENGAGED in a fruitleſs and impoſſible attempt, to raiſe the finances of his party to a level with their own boundleſs profuſion and prodigality.	IN ſpite of all factious oppoſition, has already, by an œconomical reform of abuſes in the expenditure, and an active and enlightened mode of receipt, raiſed the revenues of the nation ſo much above its frugal ordinary occaſions, as to be able to apply ſome portion towards the diſcharge of the national debt; and at the ſame time to hold the country in ſuch a formi-

FOX.

WHEN Miniſter, planned, contrived, introduced, and by a factious majority carried through the Houſe of Commons, a Bill to take poſſeſſion of all the patronage and property of the Eaſt India Company; in order to eſtabliſh a firm and permanent ſyſtem of compleat and irreſiſtible parliamentary corruption, to bind in everlaſting chains both Prince and People.

This grand and audacious effort of human impudence and factious depravity was defeated once and for ever, by a happy cooperation and junction of king and people.

ACCUSES Haſtings *on conjecture* of fraud and peculation in his management of the affairs of the Company: yet defends Powell* and Bembridge, *convicted* of fraud in his father's accounts with the government.

PITT.

formidable poſture of defence, as to ſecure it from all hoſtile menace and inſult.

WHEN Miniſter, with conſummate ability, moderation and caution, digeſted and introduced into the Houſe of Commons, a bill to reſtore to the people their juſt right of a fair repreſentation, and permanently to reſcue the Parliament from all future corruption and faction.

This ſalutary attempt (*the firſt of its kind by a miniſter*) was defeated, for the preſent, by Fox, North and Co. but muſt hereafter ſucceed, becauſe equally neceſſary and eſſential to the true intereſts and ſecurity both of king and people.

APPROVING, juſtifying, and praiſing *much* of the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, and with irreſiſtible force of argument refuting many of the malicious attacks of his enemies; yet blaming *ſome* part of his apparent conduct: neither purſuing nor

* My friend Frank — 's anecdote of £10.000 lent and then relinquished by Powell to Mr. Fox, which anecdote Frank had from Powell himself.

FOX. PITT.

Impeaches Haſtings for miniſterial corruption and profuſion in his adminiſtration of affairs in the Eaſt Indies; yet coaleſces, and enters *again* into office with Lord North; after ten times greater corruption and profuſion in his adminiſtration of affairs at home.

nor protecting him; and for the ſake of national character and the honour even of the accuſed, leaving the inveſtigation and reſult upon the whole of his conduct, to the unbiaſſed determination of that tribunal which alone is adequate to the deciſion.

Impeaches Haſtings for political miſconduct in his government; who, unaided and unaſſiſted by this country, defended and ſaved all the diſtant poſſeſſions committed to his charge, and left them in a ſituation, which is the wonder of the world, and the only and laſt reſource even of his accuſers and judges: yet unites in diſhonourable confederacy with Lord North; who, leaving the Eaſt Indies, and the Weſt Indies, and Ireland and England, and our commerce and connexions in Europe, to ſhift for themſelves, directed and confined the whole overſtrained force and anticipated revenues of this country,

* Repreſentation to his majeſty moved by Mr. Burke June 14. 1783. page 17. Note to

FOX.

to one ſingle object, as abſurd as wicked; wantonly inſulting, inhumanly perſecuting and finally loſing America, and *unhinging* Ireland; leaving his own country after an adminiſtration of fourteen years, overloaded with taxes, overwhelmed with funded and unfunded debt, both at home and abroad in the utmoſt diſorder, derangement, debility and contempt.

Paints fictitious cruelties, with the inſinuated connivance of Mr. Haſtings, by his diſtant agents on the natives of Indoſtan: AND commits real atrocious cruelties by known hired ruffians, on his own conſtituents in our ſtreets at home.

IMPOSER of an unjuſt, becauſe *partial*, tax on *Receipts*. Two-pence for two pounds: four-pence for twenty pounds: thus leaving the poor man to pay ~~for twenty pounds as much as the rich man for twenty thouſand.~~ Or rather, by

PITT.

IMPOSER of an unjuſt, becauſe *partial*, tax upon *Shops*. Mr. Pitt, no doubt, is aware (though the Romans were not) that no kingdom ever was or can be permanently proſperous, unleſs the chief burthen of government is laid on and

for forty shillings in the proportion of five & one more than his happier neighbour for twenty pounds, and his neighbour for twenty pounds as much as the rich man for 20 or 30 thousand near

an artful contrivance leaving the poor to pay all, and the rich *none:* for the bankers, where generally the rich receive all and pay all, contribute no tax on either ſide, whether they pay or receive.

If any one ſhould enquire why this tax is not, as moſt taxes, and this eſpecially ought to be, *ad valorem*; for inſtance two-pence, or, if they pleaſe, three-pence on every ten pounds, the cauſe is notorious—an *ariſtocratic faction* in parliament always attempting a ſelfiſh object, (evaſion from taxes) by means as ineffectual as ruinous and fooliſh. Theſe grinders of the poor, theſe empty and inſolent uſurpers over men in every reſpect much better than themſelves, ſeem not to know that, in all nations, near its political centre, the metropolis; and that all taxes and impoſitions (like the power of attraction) ſhould be as nearly as poſſible in an inverſe ratio of the ſquare of the diſtances from that centre: for if all the blood flows to the heart, it muſt likewiſe flow from it, or the neceſſary circulation will ſoon be ſtopped. In this reſpect then, both the ſhop-tax and receipt-tax agree. They are both with propriety, laid chiefly on and near the metropolis; and both are ſo far happily imagined, that from their own nature (if fairly and impartially laid) they would operate in their due proportion. They are alſo both unjuſt (as they are now impoſed) becauſe both *partial:* both bear hard on induſtry and honeſty,* and are

* Dr. Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of nations,*" lays down a very laudable and comfortable poſition, viz. that luxuries only ſhould be taxed and the neceſſaries of life go free. But when he comes to treat of *Neceſſaries* (and his Eſſay is in *Engliſh*) we learn, that *Hats*, *Shoes*, and *Stockings* are not neceſſaries; many nations go without them. *Linen* is not neceſſary; the Cæſars wore none. *Wool* manufactured into *cloth* is an evident luxury; the ſkins of beaſts will fence men better

FOX.

theſe things will always proceed by a neceſſary and unalterable gradation; a miſerable peaſantry muſt for ever produce a beggarly yeomanry, a ſtarving gentry, a poor nobility, a feeble nation, an impotent king.

PITT.

are confined to the lower and middle claſs of people, becauſe perhaps induſtry and honeſty are (almoſt excluſively) there only to be found.

Should it be aſked then (*and the enquiry becomes us*) why was the *Shop-tax*, like the *Receipt-tax*, laid ſo partially? Why was it not (as it ought to be) an additional houſe-tax, levied on all alike, without diſtinction, *ad valorem* (paupers and the loweſt orders only excepted)? The anſwer is obvious—The ſame *Ariſtocratic Faction* were the cauſe: who un-

better from the cold. *Fleſh* meat is not neceſſary; the Indians feed on rice. *Beer* is not neceſſary; for water is much more wholeſome. *Wheaten Bread* is not neceſſary; his countrymen fare well on oatmeal. Thus leaving us nothing out of the liſt of taxable luxuries but the neceſſaries of ſavages, *Air*, *Water*, *Pulſe*, and *Hides*.

The Doctor indeed has not enumerated *Induſtry* and *Honeſty* amongſt his luxuries; yet ſurely he knew well that they are acknowledged to be the moſt exquiſite luxuries by thoſe who experience their enjoyment: Perſecution and misfortune indeed often attend them; but Pride and Madneſs, Diſcontent and Suicide are never found amongſt their votaries.

fortu-

fortunately had power enough in parliament to deter the moſt virtuous miniſter (even Mr. Pitt) from propoſing, at that critical moment, an impartial queſtion on a point ſo tender; in which the miſtaken private intereſt of ſome of his uſual ſupporters might have made them, upon ſuch a queſtion deſert his ſtandard, and give a triumph to that faction; who, whilſt they are themſelves the only cauſe of the juſtly reprobated partiality of the tax, employ it as an engine of abuſe and prejudice againſt him who would be moſt pleaſed at its removal. Mr. Fox and his party have at all times had it in their power to give the fair and proper relief to the deluded, though juſtly complaining ſhopkeepers; complaining juſtly of the *partiality*, but deluded by Mr. Fox as to the true *cauſe* of that partiality. Why would Mr. Fox at no time move, why will he not now move, that the tax ſhall extend e-

FOX.

PRAISE on any of the beſt meaſures of his adverſaries never extorted from him but once, viz. for the late tranſactions in Holland: and this extorted praiſe, upon *principles* the moſt diabolical, and with *declarations* of thoſe prin-

PITT.

qually to *all* houſes?* And thereby give the miniſter an opportunity (which even the worſt miniſter would exult in) to relieve the diſtreſſes and burthens of the induſtrious poor, by taking off ſome of thoſe taxes on the neceſſaries of life which bear the hardeſt on them?

LISTENING with ſilent and calm compoſure to Mr. Fox's reiterated reproaches of miniſterial indolence and neglect with reſpect to Ruſſia: whilſt, without any apparent effort of the miniſter or of the country, he had al-

* Nothing can more ſtrongly mark the improper partiality of the Shop-tax, than this circumſtance, which Mr. Fox has always avoided carefully to mention, viz. That on the houſes in thoſe parts of the town from which the chief part of the Shop-tax is collected, the Land-tax on a rack rent is from three ſhillings to five ſhillings in the pound: whilſt in that part of the town which the gentry chiefly inhabit, the Land-tax is not above three farthings in the pound. I myſelf pay *three pounds ten ſhillings* Land-tax for one of the former, which lets only for *thirty pounds* a year; and only *thirteen ſhillings* Land-tax for one of the latter, which lets for *one hundred and ſixty pounds* a year. And yet it has been thought proper to add an additional houſe-tax to the former (under the name of *Shop-tax*) and to exempt the latter.

ready

ciples the moſt abſurd; thereby diſabling himſelf for ever from being miniſter of any country in any times: for what foreign power would at any time liſten to any offers, or conclude any treaty, or pay any regard to complaints, made by a man who had the effrontery publicly to avow, that neither juſtice, nor the law of nations, nor treaties, nor good faith, ſhould be the rule of a miniſter's conduct towards other ſtates, but only the immediate political intereſt of his own country, in open defiance and violation of them all.*

ready prepared an important leſſon for that ſovereign in future, and ſecured diſappointment to all the aggrandizing hoſtile ſchemes, and manifeſt diſaffection to this country, of that ungrateful potentate. Not, like Mr. Fox, declaring he had a peace in his pocket, which he could never effectuate; but ſurprizing Europe with the ſudden *execution* of the *final object* of alliances, before even a negociation towards any alliance was ſuſpected: and then, in prudent and diſdainful ſilence, permitting Mr. Fox to cover himſelf with all the contempt and abhorrence which his avowed political principles muſt inſpire in every honeſt mind; himſelf acting both publicly and privately from very different motives, and poſſeſſing a juſtification which (whenever it ſhall with propriety be brought forward) will be, we may venture to foretell, of a very different complexion from that, to which

* Repreſentation de his Majeſty, moved by Mr. Burke. June 14. 1784. page 13.

FOX.

AFTER having been for years, as one of the Lords of the Admiralty, uniformly and without a ſingle exception, the moſt violent declaimer and adherent of Lord North in the Houſe of Commons, upon every meaſure and queſtion againſt the liberties of the people; and eſpecially for the power of that Houſe to puniſh *ad libitum*, without any other formality or trial than a vote; he diſagreed with him, and reſigned his place, *apparently* on political and public grounds, and moſt groſsly and perſonally abuſed him. In a few weeks however he returned again to Lord North's ſervice and politics, having obtained (what was indeed the real motive of his defection) a *promotion* from the *Admiralty* to the board of *Treaſury*, with an additional ſalary. In

PITT.

which Mr. Fox was willing, with diſgraceful panegyric, to aſcribe his conduct.

THOUGH Miniſter, and falſely and infamouſly libelled, has never employed the power of the Houſe of Commons to puniſh his fellow-citizens without trial, *by vote*. He would not conſent (though urged to it by Mr. Fox) that the Houſe ſhould command the Attorney-General to proſecute; but maintained that it ſhould conſtitutionally addreſs the King to give his directions to his own officer: for he knows, and by his conduct acknowledges, that the Houſe of Commons is no court of criminal juriſdiction; and that it can originate no criminal proceſs, except the conſtitutional and regular proceedings in Parliament by impeachment or attainder. He knows, that the Attorney-General has an *official* ſeat in the Houſe of Lords; and that their officer and the King's, cannot

FOX.

February 1774, he again diſagreed with him and divided the Houſe againſt him, with the ſame motive as before; but *apparently* becauſe Lord North would not conſent, as illegally as unconſtitutionally, to commit the printer, *Woodfall*, to Newgate, by the vote of the Houſe of Commons: and the next time that he came into office with Lord North, inſtead of one of the Lords of the Treaſury, we find him joint *Secretary of State*. Even in oppoſition, and affecting hypocritically to be the *Man of the People*, his arbitrary and unconſtitutional principles remain in full force; and it is but lately that he preſſed the Houſe of Commons, though in vain, to exerciſe the power of commanding the Attorney-General to proſecute a printer, in their own name, and by their own aſſumed authority.

PITT.

cannot be liable to any orders of the Houſe of Commons to proſecute, without infringing at once the ſalutary rights and privileges of King, Lords, and People.

QUESTION,

FOX.	PITT.
QUESTION.—WHO ought to conduct the affairs of the East-India-Company; and who has the beſt title to manage and poſſeſs their property?	
ANSWER.—FOX, NORTH and Co.	ANSWER.—THE proprietors, for their own concerns; but controuled by the King's miniſters, under the check and inſpection of parliament, for the concerns of the whole nation.
QUESTION.—WHO ſhall chuſe the King's confidential Servants and Miniſters?	
ANSWER.—FOX, NORTH and Co. in the *Houſe of Commons* when they have a majority there; and at the *Whig Club* when they have not a majority in parliament.	ANSWER.—THE King: whoſe authority they are to exerciſe, with his conſent and by his direction.
QUESTION.—WHO ſhould be the proprietors of Boroughs, and appoint repreſentatives to ſerve for the people in parliament?	
ANSWER.—FOX, NORTH and Co.	ANSWER.—THE People: whoſe rights they are intruſted to protect.

QUESTION.

FOX. PITT.

QUESTION.—WHO ought to nominate and elect a Repreſentative for the City of Weſtminſter?

ANSWER.—FOX, NORTH and Co. And a young man with whom they are totally unacquainted ſhall be their member.

ANSWER.——THE *real* Electors of Weſtminſter; who, without the interference of any party, for his character alone, and in conſequence of his acknowledged ſervices, originally and almoſt unanimouſly determined, That *Lord Hood*, the companion of *Lord Rodney*'s victories, ſhould be his ſucceſſor in their favour.

N.B. Mr. George Nicoll's story told at the Shakespeare Sept. 20. 1788. before Burney. Gordon. Gray. Perry — and myself.
In which Nicol himself an agent, to get in books and manuscripts; amongst others Gaming Journal. &c. — Tox given a check: to find: ing. Wine and address to pay. Judgment executed. United ale champion bill of sale. creditor defeated.

Mr. Dennison of Staples Inn £300 refunded to him by Mr. Cay.
Mr. Sayer. Mr. Reed. Atkinson

REMARK.

BECAUSE, if the ſyſtem of repreſentation was fair, proportioned, juſt and real; and if the choice of repreſentatives (under ſuch a ſyſtem) was truly in the people; the voice without doors would be rarely (if ever) different from the voice *within*; Mr. Fox, though uniformly oppoſing every plan hitherto produced, and producing none himſelf, for a reformation of the preſent ſyſtem of mock repreſentation; and though contending that the Houſe of Commons can ſeat a repreſentative even againſt the undiſputed votes of a great undiſputed majority of Electors; yet draws the *exaggerated* concluſion—that the people have *no voice* without the walls of ſuch an aſſembly. Thus depriving the people at once of their right to a fairly proportioned repreſentation; of the choice of even that ſhare of repreſentation which is ſtill left them; and *(under theſe circumſtances)* of any voice or opinion of their own, independent of theſe their ſham Repreſentatives.

But not contented with ſtripping the people of all ſhare in the appointment of thoſe who ſhould be the guardians of their *delegated* rights, he is for transferring alſo to *ſuch* a parliament (neither fairly proportioned, nor really choſen by the people) even thoſe functions which the people *can* exerciſe themſelves, and *cannot* ſafely truſt to others, and which the conſtitution therefore wiſely left in their hands, independently even of their own *fair* repreſentatives; viz. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice. For he takes from them their undoubted right of *Accuſation*, or commencing proſecu-

 tions,

tions, by a *Grand Jury*; of trying and deciding upon *Guilt* (an inqueſt and deciſion *excluſively their own)* by a *common Jury*; and the puniſhment of offences by the determination of their denomination, or claſs. Mr. Fox contending,

1. That the Houſe of Commons can *accuſe* and inſtitute proſecutions of itſelf.

2. As a court of criminal juriſdiction, without the interference of a Jury, can try and decide upon *guilt*. And,

3. Without the intervention of Laws, or any legal relief, can *puniſh* at their own diſcretion.

THUS we ſee what Mr. Fox's *ſyſtem* takes from the People,

1. The right of a fair repreſentation.

2. The choice of any repreſentative.

3. Any voice or opinion in public concerns.

At the ſame time he totally diveſts them,

1. Of the right of accuſation by a Grand Jury.

2. Of the trial and deciſion of guilt by a common Jury.

3. Of the determination of the *quantum* of puniſhment by the denomination of the offence.

All

All the above rights, Mr Fox's *avowed* ſyſtem takes from the people. But we do not ſee what ſingle right or means of ſecurity he has left them: and we may ſafely *defy* him to name *any*.

At the ſame time he attempts to take from the King, his juriſdiction and government over the Eaſt Indian Territories.

He endeavours to purloin from him his reaſonable paternal authority and influence even over his own children.

He conteſts with him the appointment of his own officers, ambaſſadors,* and confidential ſervants.

* The great benefit likely to accrue to our national affairs by Mr. Fox's uſurpation and monopoly of theſe appointments, may be pretty clearly aſcertained by the following, amongſt innumerable other facts of a ſimilar nature.

At the time that the *Coalition* had violently ſeized the government (as every member of it was to be gratified for his ſhare in that odious tranſaction) a gentleman of noble birth and connexions was deſtined by Mr. Fox as Envoy to ———, becauſe the ſalary ſuited him. The young gentleman, much more conſcientious than his leader, imagined it both becoming and neceſſary to be in ſome little meaſure at leaſt qualified for the employment; and very naturally conceiving negociation to be a ſort of *Hocus Pocus*, which might as eaſily and ſpeedily be taught by its profeſſors as any other pretty little trick of *Legerdemain*, he applied to the late Mr. ——— to teach him for the *five or ſix weeks* before he was to ſet out upon his embaſſy, and ſo to ſend him away perfectly qualified for his department. Mr. ——— approving the offered emolument, but totally unacquainted with the ſubject, applied to Mr. ——— for inſtructions to fulfil his part of the buſineſs of Ambaſſador-making. But Mr. —— likewiſe, being totally unpractiſed in this new manufacture, applied in his turn to my friend Mr. ——— who, as much at a loſs as the others, applied to me, more at a loſs than any of the reſt. Whilſt my friends were thus hunting for a *Noſtrum* to make Envoys ſpring up like muſhrooms, the *Coalition-bubble* burſt; and, in all human probability, has left full time enough to the diſappointed Envoy to compleat his diplomatic education.

He refuſes him any authority over thoſe officers and ſervants when appointed.

And to compleat the total annihilation of the Crown, he denies his right of a *Negative* to the acts of ſuch a parliament, ſo packed, ſo choſen, ſo controuled and ſo influenced. Thus leaving both King and People mere ſhadows and phantoms in the Conſtitution; and Fox, NORTH and Co. in factious coalition, the deſpotic Lords and Maſters of this once glorious and independent nation.

If this my concluſion is not fairly drawn, there remains an eaſy method to confute it.—You have here an enumeration of the rights which Mr. Fox's ſyſtem *takes away* from King and People: Let *him*, if he can, enumerate what he has *left* to either.

THE Author now begs leave to propoſe two queſtions to his readers; which all men, he conceives, will, in their cloſets, anſwer in the ſame words. You have here been preſented with four portraits (merely an aſſemblage of known indiſputable facts.)

1ſt Queſtion. Which two of them will you chuſe to hang up in your cabinets; the PITTS or the FOXES?

2d Queſtion. Where, on your conſciences, ſhould the other two be hanged?

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM 13 MAY 22

October 1788 Oct. 5

Stockdale to advertise in all Country Papers. 1
To be printed at length in all country Papers
P. Annals Committee, ordered Sat. 14. 88.

John Allen on Leg Greek street
Charles A. Crichett Esq Soho Square
Mr. Laburnam Princes street
Bramwell Grafton street
Dawes
Jones
Hand
G. Smith
Edw. Smith
Owen Griffin
Potts
Pellows
Marshall
Hunter
Ramsay
Turner
Palmer
Banfield

W. Bramwell 19 St. Chatham

To be beautifully engraved with heads of Pitt & Chatham & ornamented.
Done on Vellum. Presented to Parishes &c.
Framed & presented to the author.